

in the U.S. Senate. And I never imagined when I was running for the position of Governor how important the Governor's role in Delaware is in terms of nominating judges to the Court of Chancery and the Delaware Supreme Court and superior court and family court, and on and on—a lot of courts and some with national and even international respect and roles.

One of my great regrets is that I never had the opportunity to nominate Judge Stark, young Leonard Stark. He did not apply. I know he was old enough but not by much. But I would have been very, very proud as Governor to have nominated him to serve in any one of the courts in Delaware.

Delaware is a little place that has about a million people, about 100 miles from north to south and about 50 miles from east to west. And it is not possible to know everybody, but you can know a lot of people. And I have been privileged to not only just know Leonard Stark but also to know his family and to know that one of the reasons why he succeeded—I would say one of the reasons I succeeded is that we picked the right parents, not a lot of wealth or fortune or fame but just people with really good values and just good people. And I just want to say to them, thank you for bringing him into the world and raising him with wonderful values.

I want to thank his wife and children for sharing their husband and their dad with the people of Delaware for all these years and for your willingness to let us give him a chance to serve in this new position.

From his service to the American public as assistant U.S. attorney for the last 12 years on the Delaware district court, Leonard Stark has earned the respect and the admiration of the legal community in Delaware and across our country.

I again want to thank our colleagues today for voting to take his nomination to go forward to the next step, and I think we will have an opportunity to vote next week on the actual confirmation. But I am pleased with the outcome of today's vote on cloture.

We have a State song—I know we have a State song in Maryland. I won't sing it here today, but the State song—the very first State, Delaware, the first State to ratify the Constitution—includes a line that goes something like this:

The sun is shining over our beloved Delaware.

And so today, indeed, the Sun is shining over Delaware.

We had a National Prayer Breakfast in the Capitol this morning in the auditorium in the Visitor Center, where the speaker was Brian Stephenson, famed attorney, defender, author. He was here, and he was our keynote speaker for the Prayer Breakfast. The cochair for the Prayer Breakfast was Senator CHRISTOPHER COONS of Delaware.

The President of the United States spoke at the Prayer Breakfast today,

Joe Biden, a Delawarean. And LISA BLUNT ROCHESTER, our Congresswoman, and I had the privilege to be there and be part of that family.

It has been a good day for Delaware. I know with the vote to move this nomination to the next step, it is another good day for Delaware for this reason. It was also a very good day for our country and for all who have worked hard to make this day possible and this step possible. I just want to say a heartfelt thank you.

With that, I yield the floor to another fellow who has a Delaware connection. When he came for orientation a few years ago, he was nice enough to share with me that—I told him that the most popular Senate initials in the U.S. Senate were the letters "TC." There were more "TCs" than any set of initials in the Senate, and when TED CRUZ joined us, we had another one as well.

He shared with me that his grandmother was from Wilmington, DE—1 of 17 children, if I am not mistaken, and that gave us a common bond right from the get-go. I am happy to yield to my friend from Texas for his comments today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

RUSSIA

Mr. CRUZ. Mr. President, there is a gathering storm in Europe. I rise today to discuss the brewing crisis posed by Russia's aggression and, tragically, how the reckless actions of President Biden have enabled it.

This morning, all 100 Senators participated in a classified briefing, where we heard from the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. We heard about the magnitude of the threat from Russia.

We stand here today with Europe facing the greatest peril it has faced since 1945. These are ominous and chilling times, and we did not arrive here by accident. Right now, 150,000 Russian troops are directly on the border of Ukraine, poised to invade, with more troops and more tanks arriving each and every day. It was also reported this week that Russia has sent additional blood supplies to its military equipment on the Ukraine border, another ominous signal that Russia plans to invade.

Ukraine, and indeed the region and the world, find ourselves in this crisis because of President Biden's weakness, because of his appeasement, because of his surrender to Putin over the last year. And now, instead of rising to meet this moment with strength and resolve, President Biden continues to shrink from it with more weakness than appeasement.

One question that was raised in the briefing this morning is, Why didn't this happen in 2017? Why didn't it happen in 2018? Why didn't it happen in 2019? Why didn't it happen in 2020? What changed?

I will suggest what changed. What changed is the occupant of the Oval Of-

fice, who has demonstrated weakness and appeasement virtually from the moment he rested his hand upon the Bible. It is a pattern.

As a result of President Biden's weakness and appeasement, this administration gave Afghanistan to the Taliban and 13 American servicemembers were tragically murdered.

As a result of President Biden's weakness and appeasement, this administration is ramping up to give a nuclear arsenal to the Ayatollah in Iran. The very same Ayatollah who chants "Death to Israel" and "Death to America," the Biden administration is preparing to facilitate that Ayatollah having the weapons of mass murder to carry out those pledges.

As a result of President Biden's weakness and appeasement, the Biden administration is in the process of ceding Taiwan to Xi. President Biden has even banned any Taiwanese official from displaying a Taiwanese military uniform or displaying a Taiwanese flag on U.S. Government property. Why? Because it offends the communist Government in China.

And, again, right now, today, as a result of President Biden's weakness and appeasement, the Biden administration is in the process of abandoning Ukraine to Vladimir Putin.

Putin didn't just wake up one day and decide to invade Ukraine. He has wanted to invade Ukraine for years. And he did so in 2014, but he stopped short of a full invasion then because he couldn't endanger Ukraine's energy infrastructure, which Putin needs to get Russian natural gas to Europe. So Russia formed a consortium to build Nord Stream 2, a pipeline stretching directly from Russia to Germany under the sea so that Russian gas could circumvent Ukraine altogether.

We have long known about the dangers Nord Stream 2 poses. That is why, in the last few years, Democrats and Republicans here in the Senate have come together repeatedly and taken bipartisan actions, passing sanctions on Nord Stream 2 with overwhelming majorities.

I led that effort, drafting the Cruz-Shaheen sanctions. They were supported by every Democrat in this Chamber. They passed overwhelmingly, and they worked. They succeeded. They stopped the pipeline literally the day they were signed into law.

The story of how that happened is well known to every Senator in this Chamber, as is the story of how the new President—President Biden—inexplicably and catastrophically decided to squander that hard-fought geopolitical victory and turn a victory for America into a loss for America and our allies.

Many a Democratic Senator standing on this Senate floor has quietly expressed frustration, confusion, anger why the Biden administration would surrender to Russia and give away the victory we had won.

It is not only the decision to surrender on Nord Stream 2 and give

Putin the pipeline that enables him to invade Ukraine that led to this day. Also, for the past year, President Biden has repeatedly systematically undermined our Ukrainian allies in the face of Russian aggression to placate Putin.

And it is worth noting, Biden does this for the same reason he undermines Taiwan. He undermines Taiwan to placate the Chinese communists. He undermines Ukraine to placate Putin. To placate Putin, the Biden administration has repeatedly withheld military aid packages to Ukraine. Other times, he has withheld diplomatic support to pressure our Ukrainian allies into supporting his misguided Nord Stream 2 surrender to Putin. Biden's actions for the past year have emboldened Putin, who acted on that weakness and has put Europe on the brink of war.

So what can we do right now today to promote peace and stop an invasion?

Well, our Ukrainian allies have told us again and again what we can do and what we should do. All we have to do in the Senate is listen to our friends in Ukraine who are on the frontline: No. 1, sanction Nord Stream 2 immediately, right now, today; No. 2, give the Ukrainians weapons so that they can defend themselves.

Just last week, the chairman of Ukraine's Parliament wrote a letter to the Senate about exactly this. If you have not read the letter from the Ukrainian Parliament, I commend it to you. It is an extraordinary letter from a nation on the brink of annihilation at the hands of Russian aggression. I am going to read parts of that letter right now because it is worth quoting extensively.

The chairman of Ukraine's Parliament writes:

Nord Stream 2 is a source of multidimensional security, political and economic threats to Ukraine and Europe as a whole. It is not an exaggeration that Nord Stream 2 is no less an existential threat to Ukraine's security and democracy than the Russian troops on our border. This pipeline must be stopped and the only way to prevent the completion is to use all the tools available to do that.

The letter continues:

So far, the decision to waive sanctions against Nord Stream 2 in May 2021—

That was a decision by President Biden—

has emboldened Russia and caused Moscow to conclude that the United States may accommodate its hostile intentions.

The letter continues:

After a clear majority of the U.S. Senate voted 55-44 in favor of imposing immediate sanctions on Nord Stream 2 AG, on January 13, 2022, it is essential that Congress include immediate sanctions against Nord Stream 2 AG in any new legislation to undercut options for Russia's aggressive actions on Ukraine.

The letter goes on, asking for a "clear trigger for the instant and unqualified imposition of any sanctions that are not imposed immediately upon enactment of the legislation," arguing that "while some sanctions—like sanctions against Nord Stream 2—should be

imposed immediately to demonstrate to Moscow that the United States is, indeed, serious about serious measures, including removing Russia from SWIFT, the trigger of these future sanctions must be clear in order to be effective."

The letter continues:

A "significant escalation in hostilities," whose "aim or effect of undermining, overthrowing, or dismantling the Government of Ukraine, occupying the territory of Ukraine, or interfering with the sovereignty or territorial integrity of Ukraine" is too high of a threshold to deter Russian aggression or affect the Kremlin's cost-benefit calculus.

The Ukrainians are crystal clear in this letter. The sanctions on Nord Stream 2 that Biden waived last year, in the words of the Ukrainians, "emboldened Russia" and allowed Putin to think "the United States may accommodate its hostile intentions." In other words, because of Biden's weakness and appeasement on Nord Stream 2, Putin thinks there are no serious consequences to invading Ukraine.

So the Ukrainians are asking—they are begging of the U.S. Senate—for immediate sanctions on Nord Stream 2. Do not abandon them. They cry at their hour of need.

And they also state in the letter that "expedited and higher-impact security assistance, including air defense, anti-ship, and anti-armor capabilities" is what they need.

That is what the Ukrainians have asked for, but President Biden and most of the Senate Democrats aren't doing what our Ukrainian allies have called for. Instead, they are looking to pile appeasement on top of appeasement, and they are doing it in secret. The Biden administration has offered Putin sweeping concessions on NATO when it comes to troops, when it comes to missiles, when it comes to military exercises. They transmitted this appeasement to Putin in secret and refused to let Americans see the details.

I have seen the details, and I can tell you, they are deeply worrying. The reason the public hasn't seen them is the administration has placed them in a secure SCIF. They are not classified, mind you. They are merely "confidential," which is Washington speak for politically embarrassing, and the administration doesn't want to defend the substance of it.

That is why I am introducing legislation called the PARTNER Act, which would prevent President Biden from endangering our longtime allies and frontline countries in NATO by prohibiting him from removing American troops from the countries that border Russia—meaning Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Romania, and Poland—longtime allies. My legislation will prevent President Biden from offering yet more appeasement to Russia, from offering for America to abandon Eastern Europe to Russia, and from allowing President Biden to fatally undermine NATO.

I also want to address the fact that some think we should stand down and not resist Russian aggression because they say Biden will send American troops into Ukraine and start a shooting war with Russia if Putin invades. I want to be clear and unequivocal: We should not have American soldiers in Ukraine. Under no circumstances should we send our sons and daughters to die to defend Ukraine from Russia. If the Biden administration proposes that because their foreign policy is collapsing around that, I will vigorously oppose such a move and the vast majority of Americans do, as well.

But, critically, the Ukrainians aren't asking for that. Ukraine is not asking for a single American soldier. Ukraine is saying, Do two things: Sanction Nord Stream 2, the pipeline that enables the Russian aggression; and provide them with the military weapons so that they, the Ukrainians, can fight to defend their own Nation from the invading Russian Army.

So Americans are asking: Why should we care what happens to Ukraine or what happens to NATO countries that border Russia?

Let me be clear. There are some who justify American foreign policy and say we have an amorphous obligation to protect democracies; we have an obligation to protect international norms.

I think all of that is bunk. We have an obligation to protect the national security of the United States of America. The Commander in Chief's obligation is to keep Americans safe.

What does that mean in this context?

Well, I want to make four points. No. 1, what Putin is trying to do is reassemble the USSR. If he succeeds in doing so, it would be catastrophic for global stability and American security. Putin and Russia are an enemy of America. When the Soviet Union was bigger, stronger, mightier, and with a bigger military, the lives of Americans and the lives of our allies were in far greater jeopardy. It is overwhelmingly in America's interest to prevent Putin from reassembling the Soviet Union because we do not wish for our enemies to become stronger and use that strength against us.

No. 2, Putin is trying to seize control of energy. If he is successful, it will be felt by Americans filling up their cars with gas or trying to heat their homes in the winter. We have already seen what Putin has done with Nord Stream 2, and he is not going to stop there.

No. 3, we have a formal obligation—a commitment the United States made—to help the Ukrainians defend themselves. Why is that? Well, after Ukraine successfully declared independence from the USSR in 1991, the United States signed an agreement, an agreement called the Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances. With the Budapest Memorandum, under the terms of it, Ukraine agreed to give up its nuclear weapons. Ukraine had the third largest stockpile of nuclear weapons on the face of the planet. America

agreed, quite reasonably, that the world would be safer if Ukraine did not have nukes, and the brandnew Ukrainian Government agreed and gave up their nuclear weapons, making America safer and the world safer.

But the Ukrainian Government did not do so for nothing. It did so in exchange for explicit assurances that the United States would protect Ukraine's territorial integrity. Let me reiterate that. The United States made a formal commitment to the Ukrainians that if they gave up their nuclear weapons, we would help them protect themselves. The Ukrainians are asking us to honor our commitment in the form—and they are very specific about what they are asking—in the form of immediate sanctions on Nord Stream 2 and weapons so they can defend themselves.

We need to send them that lethal aid, the kind of firepower the Ukrainians need to defend themselves, not the blankets and teddy bears and meals that the Obama administration sent the last time Russia invaded Ukraine.

No. 4, we have treaty obligations to NATO countries on the frontlines of Putin's aggression. Putin wants NATO to withdraw foreign forces, including American forces from the countries that border Russia—from Bulgaria, from Poland, from Romania, from Estonia, from Latvia, from Lithuania. But to withdraw American forces from NATO would be seen as—in fact, it would be—an abdication of our commitment to NATO. It would either shatter the NATO alliance, the most successful alliance in modern history, or it would put into motion dynamics that would ultimately shatter NATO, which is why, as I mentioned, I am introducing the PARTNER Act, to prevent the Biden administration—their weakness and appeasement—from destroying NATO and undermining American security.

On every one of these four points, Biden has demonstrated weakness and appeasement to Putin. And I would note that you might ask: Why should America honor our commitments? Why should we honor our commitment in the Budapest Memorandum, honor our treaty commitments to the NATO countries? Because one of the ways we protect American national security is when we make an agreement with a country—when we make a formal, legal agreement—we honor our commitments. And we want countries to know that we stand by our friends, that we stand by our word, that our treaties mean something, because if countries learn that under weak and feckless Presidents, our treaties—our formal, binding, legal documents—aren't worth the paper they are written on, it undermines the ability of any President of the United States to negotiate agreements with our friends and allies that keep Americans safe.

When Ronald Reagan was standing up and confronting the “Evil Empire,” we saw the virtues of peace through strength.

Biden's foreign policy seems to invite war through weakness. There are actions we can take today, like sanctioning Nord Stream 2, like sending lethal aid to Ukraine, like committing to keep our NATO forces in countries that border Russia.

All of these actions would show Putin that the United States will stand up to aggression and defend our national interests. We should take these actions without delay. We should stand in bipartisan unity in support of American national security, in opposition to Russian aggression. If we do not, if the Senate acquiesces to Biden's weakness and appeasement and Russia invades Ukraine and, weeks from now, there are Russian tanks in the streets of Kyiv, Ukraine and Europe and America and the world will reap the whirlwind.

This is our opportunity to act. I pray that we take it.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Ms. CORTEZ MASTO). The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. BENNET. Madam President, I would ask through the Chair how long the Senator from Texas might be.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

Mr. BENNET. Madam President, I defer to the Senator from Texas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Thank you.

The Senator from Texas is recognized when he is ready.

Mr. CORNYN. I would yield my—

Mr. BENNET. The Senator from Texas was yielding patiently, and just for clarity of the record, I yield to the senior Senator from the State of Texas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

#### CHIPS FOR AMERICA ACT

Mr. CORNYN. Madam President, in the summer of 2020, the senior Senator from Virginia, Senator WARNER, and I introduced the CHIPS for America Act to reshore semiconductor manufacturing here in the United States.

I didn't know much about semiconductors when we got started, but I have learned a lot, and what I have learned is that this is an essential commodity that we have over time offshored to places like Asia that we need to reshore or bring back to America for our economy and for national security.

Currently, 90 percent of the semiconductors in the world are manufactured in Asia. Sixty-three percent of the semiconductors in the world come from one place: Taiwan. If COVID has taught us one thing, it has taught us how vulnerable our supply chains can be. And the truth is, semiconductors have become so critical to our way of life, to our economy, and to our national security, to everything we do, that if that supply were blocked for some reason—either as a result of another pandemic or a natural disaster or, Heaven forbid, a military conflict—it would be devastating to the United States and our economy and our national security.

That is why, when our bill was introduced as an amendment to the Defense authorization bill, it passed 96 to 4. Clearly, we had strong, bipartisan support here in the Senate. It took less than 7 months from the time we introduced the bill until it became law, and then 6 months later, the Senate passed the U.S. Innovation and Competition Act, with \$52 billion in funding for the CHIPS Program.

Had this legislation been introduced years ago, before the pandemic, I don't think it would have received either such quick action or such broad bipartisan support. That is not because this type of investment wasn't needed. There is clear data that showed a concerning trend in U.S. chip manufacturing.

We saw big investments made by other countries in their own capabilities and a business model primarily by Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Company, which I visited along with colleagues in Taipei just a few months ago, where their business model is to manufacture chips made and designed—I should say designed by companies that need those semiconductors. But rather than build their own manufacturing capability, their own foundry, they outsourced that to Taiwan Semiconductor. So Taiwan and particularly Taiwan Semiconductor have become the focal point for the production of semiconductors around the world.

Well, there was general agreement that something should be done before COVID-19, but it certainly wasn't at the top of everyone's priority list. But, as I said, when the pandemic hit, the vulnerability of our supply chains for everything from PPE—personal protective equipment—to semiconductors became apparent.

Well, how has that affected everyday Texans, folks from Nevada or Colorado? Well, we found out that an absence or a lack of semiconductors meant empty car lots. You couldn't buy a new car. You couldn't get a computer, perhaps for your child to be able to study virtually during a quarantine period or during a period of virtual learning at schools across the country.

We saw higher prices adding to the problem with inflation. Suddenly, those concerning data points turned into real-world problems. Consumers who never even dreamed or thought about a semiconductor before found themselves impacted by this global shortage. The new car they had been saving up for wasn't available. The Christmas gift they planned to order for their children was out of stock.

While the lack of consumer products is a big problem, it pales in comparison to the security risk created by the chip shortage. Simply put, semiconductors are vital to our critical infrastructure. Our grid keeps on the lights and makes it possible to heat our buildings during the cold of winter. They run our cell towers that enable us to talk on our cell phones or download data and do